

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 1. No. 8

15<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1921

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## Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information, and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

## POLITICS

### The Situation in Hungary.

by Bela Kun.

The following article is part of a more comprehensive essay written by comrade Kun immediately after the latest Habsburg rebellion had been reported and at the moment that the royal troops were advancing on Budapest. The following excerpt gives a good analysis of the situation in Hungary.

Editor's note.

After the fall of the Soviet Republic the monarchist form of government was de jure set up in Hungary. The democracy, in whose name the counter-revolution had overthrown the Soviet Republic from within, could not last. After the social-democratic government had held out four days, the National Hungarian Kingdom was proclaimed by the White-Guard troops and the bureaucracy supported by the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the wealthier peasants. The commander-in-chief of the White Army was to be Regent until the election of the king.

The policy of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the wealthier peasantry was sharply opposed to that of the big land-owners and the upper bourgeoisie. The White Terror troops who relied for their support on the two former classes not only menaced the lives of the capitalists of whom the majority were Jews, but

even tried to consolidate the social basis of their rule by a distribution of land in the region between the Danube and the Theiss. Soon the feeble coalition of the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasantry was undermined because of the conflicting interests existing between the latter, producing the food, and the former, consuming it. The peasant-party demanded the suspension of food-requisitions; the urban petty-bourgeoisie, which consisted for the most part of government officials, etc. suffered hunger as the prices of food rose to a staggering height. As a consequence of the White Terror the workers could not exercise any political power. The big land-owners and upper bourgeoisie of Hungary took advantage of the conflict of interests, in order to try to wrest the power from the troops and the bureaucracy. The White Terror had indeed reestablished private property but it disturbed the capitalists by its legal and illegal measures.

Horthy depended for his support on the troops consisting of former officers and of poor and wealthy peasants. The former officers of higher rank had been eliminated from these troops. New adventurous elements were in command. Horthy paid the troops with the right to plunder and by means of various measures at the expense of the capitalists. The big landowners were terrorized by the peasants who demanded agrarian reforms.

The big landowners and the capitalists united for the purpose of making secure their reestablished order and inviolability by means of a Habsburg Restoration. The majority of the troops and the small landowners was for the free election of a king. The majority of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, deluded by nationalist ideas, and loath to yield peacefully to the paring off of Hungary's territory, became supporters of the Restoration, from which it expected the reestablishment of Magyar domination over the nationalities which had in the meantime freed themselves. With the aid of the small peasant party and the White Guard troops Horthy frustrated the first attempt of the Habsburg rebellion. But for all that Count Bethlen, the Legitimist, and the Finance Minister Hegedus, representative of big capital, were able to seize power. (The retreat of these latter has not changed the relation of power among the classes.)

These two were backed by the leading politicians of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Count Andrássy and Count Apponyi, Gustav Gratz, the representative of big industry (one of the representatives of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the Brest-Litovsk conference), and the former Habsburg generals. The most extreme Legitimist wing was under the leadership of Stefan Friedrich, the demagogic leader of a part of the rural petty-bourgeoisie, former Under-Secretary of State in the Karolyi cabinet, chief exponent of nationalist ideology and the real organizer of Count Tisza's assassination.

The liberal urban petty-bourgeoisie which had united with the Social Democrats in the "Liberal Coalitions", never definitely demonstrated its sympathies for the republic.

The opponents of the Habsburg Restoration, the party in favor of the free election of a king, the party of small peasants, had supported the Legitimist government up to last month, even though with continuous friction. But this party also was strongly influenced by the large estate-holding elements belonging to it which inclined towards the Legitimist and Restoration idea.

In addition to all this almost the entire Magyar bourgeoisie of former Hungary, all the Hungarian and in part German officers of the old army, gathered on Hungarian territory. This bourgeois riffraff which expected from the Habsburg Restoration the reestablishment of the oppressive Magyar regime, was also one of the supports of Kaiser Karl.

## Moscow's Offer and the Howls of the Mensheviks.

by Wilhelm Koenen (Berlin).

"The offer is not a new one. The recognition of debts was one of the peace conditions which William Bullitt brought back from Moscow in 1919, and which were first published in the „Daily Herald“. The Allies at that time declined this condition. Are they going to reject the offer now?"

(From the „Daily Herald“ of the 31st Oct. 1920.)

The old Kautsky stated in the first year of the Russian Revolution that „were the proletarian government in the East to succeed in maintaining itself for only one year“, it would mean the greatest political achievement of International Socialism. Now we are living through the 4th Anniversary of the successful Russian Revolution, the first stage of the World-Revolution. For 3 full years the proletariat of the East has maintained its control of Great Russia, against death and ruin, against White Guards and the Entente, against the bourgeoisie and starvation. Not only is the proletarian State unbroken and unshaken, but even in spite of its own miseries, and in spite of the failure of the proletariat of Central and Western Europe, misled by the social-democrats, for months the proletarian government has been making an attempt to conquer and establish a position even within the capitalist robber-states, which have persecuted it until now with blood and iron.

When early this spring the Soviet Government finally succeeded in overcoming the foreign boycott and in breaking its way through to the world-market, he course of negotiations between the proletarian State and the capitalist Powers for official recognition has not been broken. It is true, last September, the Soviet Republic was threatened by the danger of an imperialist attack by Japan, England, France and their lackeys, Poland and Roumania. But the danger was avoided, and the Allied powers attempted to blackmail Russia for the guarantee of re-payment of the Czar's debts, by taking advantage of Russia's starvation. The Allied diplomats were themselves caught in the dangerous noose with which they hoped to strangle Soviet Russia in its dire need. The Soviet Government agrees to the Entente demand for a payment of debts — not in obedience to their blackmailing attempt — but, as the citation from the „Daily Herald“ and Krassins former negotiations prove, to renew the offer to pay interest upon *new terms and special conditions*. The Soviet Government makes demands of England, the dominating power of the Entente; real relief, the creation of the possibility of payment, assurance against military attacks, expressed official recognition and an invitation to an international conference on a basis of equality. The Allied political blackmail threat became an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Republic, for winning an officially recognized World-position, and for extending and facilitating the absolutely necessary economic intercourse with the world. Russia wants these economic connections at any price, and soon; and if all signs do not deceive, the Allied capitalists will come a step nearer to the proletarian State in the East. They want to negotiate with it anew. Even the „Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung“, the chief organ of the German Stinnes group, who already is feeling as if it has been cheated, is compelled to admit in its November 1st issue:

„The Soviet government has at any rate achieved a big diplomatic victory, by means of a promise, which under present circumstances has no positive value.“

Let us however, see how the *wailing attitude of the international Menshevik-press* compares with the above capitalist confession. Its torch-bearers are the fine brotherly pair: „Vorwärts“ and „Freiheit“. These defenders of Kautsky have, in their fanatical hatred against the Communists, even forgotten their master's song of praise, mentioned above. On the 4th Anniversary of the great Russian Revolution, instead of recognizing the triple steadfastness of our Russian brothers, they howl: „Hurrah, Moscow capitulates, Bolshevism declares itself bankrupt.“ Mad with false glee, the „Vorwärts“ sneers: „The capitulation of Moscow is naturally a bitter pill for the Communists of all countries“, and awkwardly attempts to play the „Humanité“ against the „Rote Fahne“ because these two papers did not both write about the hated world-revolution on the same day. The „Freiheit“, the oracle of the eternally weak Hilferdings, writes that it is now clear „that the Communists have completely missed the social character of the Russian Revolution, and have falsely estimated the part played by the classes.“

How false these stupid Bolsheviki were in seizing power in Russia, when they proved themselves able to hold and fortify it not only for one year, which Kautsky wished to cele-

brate, but for four years. And how „wise“ — Stampfer uses the very word — the Social-traitors of the 2 and 2½ International were when, after the November days of 1918, they tricked the proletariat in all countries of Central Europe out of the power which had just been won, and when they maliciously played into the hands of the bourgeoisie with their game of „democracy“!

As early as the spring, we wrote from Moscow in a press-article on Russia's new attitude towards such renegades:

„These poor heroes and their followers *do not want to see* that concessions to capitalism could only have become necessary, because the cowardly Socialists of other countries were incapable and unwilling to overthrow capitalism in their own countries, as the Communists in Russia have done by dint of the greatest sacrifices. If only the Socialists of other countries had made and suffered sacrifices in the same *heroic* manner in which the millions of Russian martyrs of the World-revolution are still daily and hourly doing, then the traitors of the Revolution would no longer to-day be so shamelessly whining over concessions.“

„If the treaties signify any weakness of the World-Revolution at all, they alone are to blame for it. We, however, see on the other side, entirely a *triumph for Soviet Russia*. After collapse of the White Guards, victorious after the civil-war, the three years of bloody war, after having beaten back attacks on all fronts, after the many grievous defeats of the Entente, the first proletarian World-power, though still in need and bleeding, is yet so strong that the strongest capitalist powers of the old and new worlds gnashing their teeth find themselves compelled to recognize it as a power on equal terms, and qualified for negotiating. The proletarian state has thus won its recognition. Profit-greedy Capitalism needs customers, and its governments thus approach Bolshevism.“

The Russian proletarian state is carrying on this struggle for admittance to the world-market, for economic relations, for internal peace and for official recognition, further by means of the Russian Relief Campaign and the recognition of its debts.

It would indeed be a *great sacrifice just now, if* „starving Russia“, were to sweat blood for years or decades in order to deliver the three billion gold rubles of the old Czarist debts to the imperialist robber-states. That is why it has established preliminary conditions and terms. It will negotiate these and demand its price. Already, with the English and French press advocating compromise and negotiations, which fact should be regarded as a favourable symptom, the signing of Russo-Italian trading treaty is reported in the immediate future.

The proletariat of Western Europe must help make the constant fight of our Russian brothers for a final place and for economic reconstruction easier. Has not even the Amsterdam International declared, in opposition to the howling Menshevik-press, that the support of the Russian Soviet Republic is necessary for the liberation-struggle of the proletariat of Central Europe? Even the Amsterdam Trade-Union International has been appealing during the last few weeks for aid to the Russian Soviet Republic and for the carrying on of the struggle against domestic and international capitalism. By rising to energetic combat in Central and Western Europe, and by leading mighty attacks against capitalist rule in our own countries, we will be rendering the strongest support to our Russian brothers in their fight for international security of proletarian rule. By helping ourselves in our distress, we ameliorate Russia's need; by fighting for our own liberation, we are fighting for Russia's Freedom.

## ECONOMICS

### The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Socialdemocratic Socialization-Fraud.

by F. Varga.

The new economic system of Soviet Russia confines the State economic control to the most important branches of industry, in which the larger establishments dominate: Mining, railways, manufacture on a large scale, the monopoly of foreign-trade and of the money and banking institutions. In other words, it limits it essentially to those „ripe“ branches of industry which are named by social-democrats of all shades in their programs of state-control or socialisation. And we hear the objection: „Why was it necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, why was it necessary to carry on a civil-war for years, when the state economic control in Russia amounts to no more than we social-democrats aim to accomplish through socialization? Wouldn't it have been much wiser to have limited yourselves to the possible from the very beginning, than to have taken the



roundabout way through excessive extensions of the State-control?"

This train of thought suffers from the error which is typical of the social-democratic way of thinking: it interchanges the economic "moderate" with the political and social "possible". We showed in our first article that the Russian Communists had no intention of socializing all industries. They were driven to it by the organized sabotage of the bourgeoisie. On this very ground any attempt at partial-socialization would be wrecked. The experience which the social-democrats of Germany, Austria, Bohemia and Hungary had with their participation in the government shows clearly how impossible a peaceful socialization, a socialization with the consent of the capitalists was. . . . As long as the bourgeoisie has part of the governing-power, the state-apparatus and an organized force in its hands, it also has the power to prevent all socialization, no matter how ripe for socialization a particular branch of production may be. *The political condition for socialization is the dictatorship of the proletariat*, which means: the transfer of the complete state power into the hands of the proletariat and the political disfranchisement of the capitalist class. But even when the political power is in the hands of the proletariat, every attempt at partial-socialization is frustrated just as effectively by the opposition of the capitalists as by the opposition of the working-class itself.

This fact is shown us by the Russian and Hungarian examples. Those capitalists who are not to be deprived of their industries force the proletarian government to do so by sabotaging production. And they sabotage production partly in the interest of their class, in order to put as many difficulties in the way of the despised workers' government as possible, and partly for ulterior motives. In the first stages of proletarian dictatorship, profitable production for the capitalist class is impossible because of the general loosening of working discipline. In the capitalist state, working-discipline is a near kin of class-discipline. Those workers who politically are rid of the capitalists, or who politically are carrying on the fiercest struggle with the capitalists as a class, will not slave away industriously and in a disciplined manner in the factories of the same capitalists. No matter if the proletarian Government is determined to confine its expropriation policy to those branches of industry which are ripe, nevertheless the refusal of the capitalists of other branches of industry to produce necessitates a constantly extending and far-reaching expropriation.

The limitation only to "ripe" branches of industry also fails because of the opposition of the workers. In Hungary for instance, we drew the expropriation line at those factories which employed up to 20 workers. But the workers in those factories which employed from 10 to 19 men could not see at all why they should be further exploited by capitalists. They got rid of the capitalists on their own account against the will of the Hungarian Soviet government, and it was of course out of the question for the government to reestablish capitalism in the industries by force after it had been done away with by the workers. A revolution is far from a military parade, where everything can be calculated and defined beforehand. Every dictatorship will for a time be compelled to extend the boundaries of the State economic control further and further.

The question will be put, "what change was it that took place in Russia during the last four years, which makes the present reduction possible?" Two essential changes took place: The bourgeoisie which sabotaged production at the beginning of the dictatorship, in the hope of being able to overthrow the Soviet government, is now - with few exceptions - convinced that the overthrow of the dictatorship is not to be thought of. Their resources which enabled them to live until now are exhausted. They find themselves compelled by necessity to make an attempt to organize enterprises even under the regime of the Soviets, and to be satisfied with existing conditions. On the other hand, the experience which the Russian proletariat had on the economic field, in the past four years has taught the workers that they are not in a position just at present to conquer and organize the whole economic field. They must see that they must limit themselves in the organization of the industries, that they must buy out the organizing ability of the bourgeoisie, and buy it dearly, paying as price the new toleration of capitalist exploitation. The recognition of the above is very painful to many good Communist workers in Russia. Some of them rebel against it. But the thorough political schooling which the Russian proletariat has gone through in the four years of the revolution is sufficient to show the overwhelming majority how indispensable this step was. In possession of the political power, the Russian proletariat must go to school to learn from the bourgeoisie the science and application of economic organization.

From this it follows: that in every dictatorship the necessity will come up for a complete socialization, that a peace-

ful agreement with the bourgeoisie on grounds of State socialism, touching only the "ripe" branches of industry, is a political Utopia; but that the surrender of part of the ground won is not everywhere necessary. If we take Germany for instance, where the relative number of industrial workers is incomparably greater than that of Russia, where every industrial worker is able to read, write and count, where the ability to organize is altogether not to be compared with that in Russia, and where in case of a dictatorship a way of joining Russia would quickly be found, so that the proletariat would not be compelled, as the Russian proletariat was, to fight the capitalists on all frontiers. In such a country for instance, there would be no necessity for a step backward, as is the case in Russia. It must be remembered that the fact that Russia, the first proletarian state, existed four years in complete isolation within a capitalist world, made it necessary to use all the organizing talent, in which Russia was not at all rich, in the army and the state-machine. For the economic organization there remains only slight organising ability. The survival of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though forced to make a step backward, is the deciding factor. As soon as the isolation of Russia will end, through the creation of new proletarian states, the organizing powers which to-day are bound up unproductively in the army and the states will be freed, and the state economic control can proceed forward. The proletarians of Europe must see that the slow development of the Revolution in Europe is one of the main reasons why the Communist Party of Russia was compelled to make a step backwards. If reproach had any sense to it, then it would be the slow European proletariat and not the Russian Communists who deserve to be blamed. Under no circumstances however, are the unhistorical and false arguments of the social-democrats to be used; under no circumstances is it to be believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be avoided, or that an economic organization can be begun with the acquiescence of the bourgeoisie which is in possession of the political power, after we see where Russia is after four years' struggle. Only an absolute ignorance of the meaning of the class-struggle, or a betrayal of the cause can lead to such a statement.

Petrograd, Oct. 18th, 1921.

## Germany's Bankruptcy.

by E. Ludwig (Berlin).

### I.

On November 4, Herr Hermes, the finance-minister of the Ebert Republic, officially started the taxation fight in Germany by presenting the tax-bill in the Reichstag. The taxation fight will occupy the center of attention in political life, even more so than until now, and it will sharpen the opposition between the classes. For the long-hidden designs of the bourgeoisie to throw the war and reconstruction-burdens upon the shoulders of the laboring masses, become a living actuality through the Wirth government's tax-laws which are outwardly intended to prove the good-will of the bourgeoisie in fulfilling its obligations regarding reparations. The big coalition between the financial bourgeoisie and the social-democratic bureaucracy for the protection of the bourgeoisie's strong-boxes was formed on November 5th in Prussia under the leadership of the Majority Socialist Otto Braun as President of the Ministry.

In this critical time for the German proletariat there appears a very timely pamphlet by Dr. Eugen Pawlowski entitled "Germany's Bankruptcy". (published by the Communist International, Carl Hoym, Hamburg 1921, 189 pages).

In an intelligible and clear style it gives to the comrades of the International the indispensable foundation for a critical judgement of Germany's financial situation and of the significance of the tax-fight, whose final outcome is of no less importance for the proletarian parties of other countries, than for the German proletariat.

Above all it is an effective weapon in the hands of the German workers, no matter to what party they belong, for defense against the campaign of tax-robbery which the bourgeoisie is preparing against them. With irrefutable figures, Pawlowski reveals just as unflinchingly every subterfuge and artifice devised by the manufacturers, by the Junkers and their petty-bourgeoisapologists, or by the agents of the Social-Democracy to paralyze and defraud the workers by means of taxes, as he pitilessly dissects the ruin of capitalist Germany. But at the same time he shows the working-class the way out of the economic and governmental-finance collapse - the way which will aid in the framing of a positive proletarian taxation-policy, and as weapon in the proletarian struggle for freedom.

This book should be in the hands of every workingman.

## II.

The taxation-question in Germany is not simply a technical problem of taxation or financial policy. In clear contrast to the "vulgar economics" which, taking up Hilferding's catchword, sets the recovery of Germany's economy against the confusion in its government-finances, Pavlovsky assigns to the tax-laws and financial problems the central position in the ruin of Germany's capitalist economy in order to derive from that the impossibility of the bourgeois government's solving the financial question in the capitalist economic crisis.

With rich material, and with official statistics gathered for the government but often serving an entirely different purpose, Pavlovsky demonstrates the inevitable collapse of German capital, and shows the decrease in the productivity of labor as a result of the decomposition in the two elements which compose it—the production element and the intensity of labor. German capital came out of the war well-nigh ruined in its two real components—its agriculture and industry—and since the war they have not appreciably improved. The cornfield-cultivation and cattle-raising have dropped by 25 % to 30 % in comparison with the pre-war period. In the mining-industry the drop is almost 50 %. The merchant-marine is destroyed. The section dealing with the hardships of the German working-class, which is manifest in the scarcity of work, is poignant indeed, and it deserves the special attention of every workingman. The consumption in bread has fallen by about 36 % on the average for every person of the population, and meat by 73 %. The mortality from tuberculosis has risen to an overwhelming degree. The majority of the population earns less than the amount necessary to purchase the minimum necessities of life, which are rising continually in price. This is the result of the glorious war and of the bourgeoisie's two-year effort at reconstruction.

Individual doubts as to whether the idea of Germany's "impoverishment" and the "crisis of under-production" is theoretically sound enough to explain Germany's capitalist ruin in all its phases must recede before the inevitable conclusion that there can be no possibility of the tiding over of the crisis in Germany, all the more, as Pavlovsky arrives at the conclusion that there can be no talk of recovery from the crisis in Germany. Only one supplement is perhaps to be desired for the second edition, namely, going over to the new immense concentration of Germany industry which manifests itself in the increase of manufacturing orders in the decrease of unemployment, in trustification and the advance of capital. At the appearance of these phenomena of immense concentration the Social-Democrats and the liquidators about Levi retrograde so far as to derive from them the tiding over of the German crisis. A few pages would be enough to prove that this concentration can only accelerate Germany's ruin and so confirm the result of Pawlowski's researches. A revival which is based on the growing misery of the workers, on the confusion in foreign-exchange and the selling out of goods in the economic field, the attempted intrigue of German capital with Western imperialism, after the Wiesbaden model, bears the same hypocritical lineaments as all of German capitalism.

## III.

The final, clearly apparent effect of economic ruin is the collapse of government finances. The staggering sums needed to cover the government's international needs and for paying the reparations, the growing deficit of the government's budget show the importance of the tax-question as well its powerlessness to solve the problem for the bourgeoisie. But even the fabulous figures given by Pawlowski have already in the few weeks since the appearance of his book been surpassed by the lightning-speed of developments.

Pawlowski reckons 75 billion paper marks as the deficit for the financial year of 1921-22. And Minister Hermes, has announced it in the Reichstag at 110 billion marks, without counting 35 billion for raising officials' salaries for which there is no money available. For 1922-23 Hermes sets the deficit at 60,900,000,000 marks, counting the new taxes. What is more he has based the value of the mark on 1.20, a thing which belongs to the past. According to the present exchange value of the mark the deficit has tripled, to say the least.

Pavlovsky sets the Reich's debt at 1010 billion paper marks inclusive of the 50 billion interest-bearing reparations-debt. If the entire reparations-debt is included, the sum stands at 2158 billion paper marks. Even this fabulous amount has since been increased through the mark catastrophe.

As a way out of its financial chaos, outside of the ephemeral hope for the better judgment of the Entente, the German bourgeoisie has only its new tax-laws which can bring in altogether 42 billion paper marks (Pawlowski erroneously gives the income from the new taxes as 80 billion; he counts old and new taxes together).

It is a drop of water on a hot stone.

For the masses, however, the new taxes are the beginning of further misery. All the taxes of the Wirth Program—the turnover-tax of 30 % for every sale of goods, the income-tax with its 10 % deduction from all wages or incomes all fall upon the workers wages, as well as the so-called property-tax. As regards the property-taxes, capital is spared in this way—as a consequence of the time which will pass between the laying down of the plans for the taxes and the time when the payment will be due which will be in 1923 or 1926, the depreciation of money will reduce the tax-amount in favor of capital. It will be further possible to shift the burden of these property-taxes because they will not be collected in one large sum at a time, but by quarterly payments which is an approach to an income-tax and can be counted in with the costs of production.

Dr. Felix Pinner, the stock-exchange editor of the "Berliner Tageblatt" had to admit a few weeks ago, that it was possible for German capital to shift the burden of all previous property-taxes in their full amount. The same thing will happen with the new taxes, which are similar to the old.

The result is the further deterioration of living-conditions in all branches of labor without attaining the financial aim which is the setting up of an equilibrium in government economy and the establishment of a firm foreign exchange.

The question stands thus — whether and when the actual threatening government bankruptcy will be openly consummated. According to Pawlowski's opinion, whether external bankruptcy will bring to an end the reparations-payments depends on the attitude of the world powers. The internal bankruptcy, the stopping of debts payments will hit the petty-bourgeois first if it is actually attempted. This being true, it is strange that the bourgeoisie has not declared bankruptcy long ago, in order to free itself from the burden of government debts. The fact is however, that the internal government-bankruptcy denotes an overwhelming shaking-up of the whole government-structure. The bourgeoisie can create all the necessary preliminaries to government bankruptcy, but it will be consummated as a revolutionary political measure of the proletariat which will eliminate the weakened bourgeoisie from the exercise of economic and political power.

## IV.

The tax-fight will bring Germany's economic and financial collapse to a head. How should the working-class behave during the tax-fight? Shall it stand by indifferent, as Curt Geyer and the KAPD. advise, in spite of the fact that in the bourgeois class-government all taxes fall upon them? Or shall it fight its way to freedom while the bourgeoisie no longer knows of a solution? Shall the working-class put in motion a positive taxation-policy? To this question which he takes up in his investigation Pawlowski answers "yes" with the strongest conviction.

A point of departure for a positive proletarian taxation-policy is the demonstration which leads towards the divergent conception held by a number, that not all taxes can be evaded, that there are degrees in the evasion of taxes, based on the kind of tax and the status of political power, and that some taxes cannot be evaded at all. This opinion is so true, especially for inheritance taxes, and so on to very large property-taxes, that it leads to a kind of tax which the author does not develop here very well — the ground-rent tax. Lassalle has already demonstrated in his speech "The Indirect Tax and the Condition of the Working Class" that the ground-rent tax is evadeable, though only with great difficulty.

Be that as it may, it is characteristic of the Ebert Republic, that it neither conceived of an inheritance tax nor of a directly effective big property-tax, but that on the contrary, in its legislation it is directly heading for an evasion of taxes on capital.

The first task which the proletariat must set for itself in the struggle against the suffering caused by the taxes, must be the levying of such taxes as are impossible or very hard of evasion, instead of taxes whose burden will fall on wage-incomes. In this respect the author agrees essentially with the Jena program of the German Communist Party (KPD.).

Yet this does not suffice in the hurricane of money-depreciation which causes the paper-mark tax to dwindle away the moment it is collected. The proletariat must strike harder in order to protect itself from further misery. It must bring into realization the seizure of "gold-value", a thing which for the German Socialist Party (SPD.) is no more than an phrase for agitation purposes and for the Independent Socialist Party (USPD.) but a means for avoiding a real class-explanation in the taxation-fight. But this must not be in the form of yields from mortgages on city and country properties, for the benefit of the Reich and the government's participation as a share-holder in industrial enterprises. This kind of actual value seizure does



neither hinder the evasion of taxes through the raising of prices, nor does it give the government control over production and prices. It therefore does not stop the course of the growing misery.

The real "gold-wealth" seizure which Powlowski calls for, is the seizure of goods-wealth in kind, and indeed, more than half if possible, so that in this way it will be possible for the government "to take all the economic machinery under its control, that is to say a uniform taking over of the whole of production and distribution of goods".

"State-capitalism then? No and yes", is Pawlowski's answer to this question, so warmly debated in the German Party. No — as long as it is a question of a government as the expression of power with the existing class and labor conditions. Yes — as soon as the proletariat has changed these conditions in the struggle to seize the gold-wealth through the government. And it must change these conditions in its own favor. If it wishes to make the government a co-owner of the goods-wealth it must break the bitter opposition of the bourgeoisie, which, on the basis of Hilferding's proposal, is already resisting to-day with all its might against the seizure of gold-wealth. The forced syndication the outward form of the seizure of gold-wealth has as its political counter-poise the necessary strengthening of labor's government power and with that, its control over government production. All those who are not frightened by a word, will be able to declare themselves in agreement with this state-capitalism. The seizure of gold-wealth which is the heart of a positive proletarian taxation-policy begins where the bourgeoisie's taxation-policy ends. It destroys the narrow frame of the purely capitalist attempt to solve the financial problem, and leads directly to the great questions of the explanation of the idea of classes and the rebuilding of the economic structure.

Once more — this book should be in the hands of every worker.

## Germany under Stinnes' Dictatorship.

by August Thalheimer (Berlin).

The social-democratic Premier of the new Prussian coalition government, in which the German People's Party, the party of "big business" and finance, has entered, has delivered his inaugural speech. At the same time, industry and high finance are making an attempt on a large scale to deprive the German government of the last remnants of its power. The reparations demands, the next instalment of which, 500,000,000 gold marks, falls due on January 15th, have plunged the state finances into a serious crisis. The deficit of the German state is variously estimated at from 120,000,000 to 130,000,000 milliard paper marks. The value of the mark, measured by its exchange value as against the dollar, has sunk so low that the quotation of the dollar fluctuates around 300. The representatives of the municipalities have recently declared that, under present circumstances, they are not even able to satisfy their most elementary needs. Hand in hand with this state of affairs industry is experiencing a period of feverish prosperity. German goods are able, on account of the low exchange quotation of the mark, to defy all competition. And, since wages and salaries have in no way risen in a degree corresponding to the depreciation of the mark, the fall of the mark has proved to be a source of enormous extra profits for industry and finance, obtained by means of an automatic reduction of the real wage. The country is becoming poorer and poorer. Finished and semi-finished products are flowing out of the country; a veritable selling out of Germany is in progress; the state finances are becoming more and more disorganized; and a small clique of financiers and manufacturers, under the leadership of the well-known captain of industry, Stinnes, are getting hold of the diminishing riches of the country. "Big business" and high finance have systematically worked at depriving the state of its chief power—the right of taxation. They have brought the petty-bourgeoisie-social-democratic government to its knees by the employment of the most severe measures, and now, under the pressure of the financial need of the government, they have ventured a step which means nothing less than the unreserved subjection of the state and the masses of the people to the rule of finance-capital.

The National Association of Industry demands as conditions for the extension of credits for the government the surrender of the state railways, the post-office and the other government-owned enterprises to private capital, the abolition of all government control and restrictions of industry and commerce, a retrenchment in the number of public employees, etc., etc.

At the same time, the freeing of finance and industry from any real taxation is demanded in disguised statements. The

government bureaucracy has already yielded in some respects to the manufacturers by the drafting of laws, designed to abolish the eight-hour day and to paralyze the workers' right to strike. The Wirth government had originally planned the taxation, even if in limited measure, of the real capital value of industry. The various stages of the capitulation of the petty-bourgeois democracy to "big business" in financial and economic questions is very clearly pictured by the commercial correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt", Dr. Pinner, as follows:

"Originally the German government planned to obtain the gold necessary for the reparations payments by a special, so-called real 'Confiscation' of the hitherto untaxed real capital of the productive strata. Then the general confiscation of real capital turned into a voluntary credit action mainly because the government did not proceed in the matter of the taxation of real capital with sufficient unanimity or energy. And now this voluntary credit assistance is only to be granted if, instead of an intervention of the government in private ownership, an encroachment of private ownership in the economic domain of the government takes place. In a really genial manner and according to the precedent established when the 'big business' program of coal socialization was offered as a substitute for the propositions of the Socialization Commission a short time ago, Messrs. Stinnes and Silverberg have turned the tables. There is no doubt that they would not have made their proposals had they not been of the opinion that in the giant undertakings which they desired to lift from the state's shoulders, and which they considered as a burden and not in the least as an asset for the state, they would be able to make sufficient profit."

The situation is here clearly described. The diffident start of the petty-bourgeois democracy's attempt to compel the participation of big industry in taxation and reparations has resulted in Capital's ruthless dictation of its conditions to "Democracy", which lead to an open dictatorship of the clique of big manufacturers and financiers.

This situation three years after the November Revolution marks the complete bankruptcy of the social-democracy, of the revolution within the limits of bourgeois democracy. But it means more than the bankruptcy of the revolution. It means the unconcealed, clear and naked putting of the question of the proletarian-socialist revolution in Germany. The great mass of the population stands face to face with the small capitalist clique led by Stinnes. It is now a question of whether this clique expropriates the state and takes over its control or the masses compel the state to expropriate these robbers and to place industry and finance under a thorough control.

In this struggle which of necessity must flame up and which the Communist Party is preparing to energetically lead, the social-democracy is chained to the destiny of Capital. In Prussia, it has entered into a direct coalition with the party of "big business" and it is manifest that it leaves the masses in the lurch in all the economic conflicts rendered necessary by the increase in prices. The Independent Party has rendered lip-service to this struggle but it is closely bound to the majority socialist trade-union bureaucracy, one of the decisive factors in this struggle, and that paralyzes a priori its will to combat, let alone that its leaders are thoroughly impregnated with a faith in the superior strength of capitalism and the helplessness of the working-class.

The workers and officials of the railways were the first to raise a sharp protest against the surrender of the state railways to private capital. The government seems to be ready to put through some sort of compromise. However the first stages of this controversy may turn out, they must inevitably lead to an intensification and extension of the class-struggle.

It is extremely probable that the Stinnes group has undertaken its large scale offensive in conjunction with various groups of English capitalists. It is an open secret that the various capitalistic groups and governments in Germany are to-day nothing but the puppets of one or another Entente government. Germany to-day is merely a colony of the Entente.

The first to take the offensive against Stinnes' attempted dictatorship are the German workers. But in order effectively to carry on this struggle they require the assistance of the proletariat of the Entente countries through an inflexible struggle against the continued predatory plundering of Entente-capital, called "Reparations". The fight against the oppression of the German working masses by a robber band of capitalists must be carried on from the interior and the exterior simultaneously. The economic and financial collapse and the enslavement of its working-class means a substantial and immediate peril for the proletariat of the Entente countries. It is the fantastic "Yellow Peril" of Europe, the danger of the reduction of the working-classes of the Entente countries to the level of the German coolies.

# THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

## The 7th of November in Italy.

by Humberto Terracini.

In past years the Italian proletariat used to celebrate the day of the Russian Revolution most solemnly. The 7th of November 1919 and 1920 was a holiday for the Italian workers; and since those were its days of bitter struggle, which meant a wonderful rise of revolutionary activity, that holiday was like a battle, and the memory of the triumph of the Russian worker was hurled as a challenge to capitalism and the State.

A day of rest was established and carried out by all industrial and agricultural organizations. Elaborate demonstrations were to be seen in the streets of every city. The streets were clear of all loafers for fear of the proletarian avalanche; and in great meetings the joining with the first Communist Republic and international solidarity with it were praised and strengthened.

The date of the 7th of November was also sharply set off from the patriotic anniversaries of the same month. Inasmuch as the proletariat did not at all participate in the capitalistic celebrations, it celebrated the demonstrations in memory of the revolution with so much more pomp and unity. In 1919, for example, all factories were running on the 4th of November, the anniversary of the victorious signing of the armistice, in spite of the factory-owners' order for a holiday, whereas on the 7th of November all factories were completely stopped, although the bosses had threatened discharges and penalties.

Until last year the Italian proletariat did not permit its victorious march towards seizure of power to be halted by any obstacle; it struck from its calendar all triumphal signs of the capitalist class, and celebrated with greatest enthusiasm the commemoration of the greatest victory of International Communism.

The first week in November of this year finds the Italian proletariat in a totally different situation: their battle-front broken by the capitalist offensive; and their battalions routed in several places where the consequences of the change of tactics by the Communist Party and of the brutality of the hostile reaction made themselves especially felt. The Italian proletariat retreated to a defensive position, in order still to be able to hold a few strongholds of their class-organization; that is why it cannot in the least repeat its deeds of past years.

To-day the motives of and the reasons for the Fascist action are well understood. From the very first the Communists recognized it as a symptom of the capitalist counter-offensive against the defeated working-class, whereas the capitalist and social-democratic parties called it a consequence of the war-psychology which was not yet subdued, or perhaps an exaggerated but just reaction against the proletarian encroachment of past years, or as a result of local conditions and of the personal initiative of irresponsible elements, or even as a degeneration of the capitalist system and a traditional symptom of the struggle between political parties.

In reality however, the Fascist movement was an occurrence called forth, organized and supported by the capitalist industrial and agrarian classes, who well understand that if the gains won by the workers in these 3 years of glorious struggle were to be taken away from them, it was necessary to break up their organization. The proletariat, if it was strongly organized in the big unions and in the numerous co-operatives, was unconquerable. It was therefore necessary to destroy these defensive and offensive positions. Hence, the burning down of the Chambers of Labor, of the co-operatives, of the meeting-rooms, in order to break up the masses which were strongly united in these class-organizations. The results were easily attained, mainly because of the sluggishness and incapacity of the labor and social-democratic leaders, who answered the criminal deeds of the Fascisti with a wavering, passive propaganda or sank into complete pacifist lethargy.

The direct results of the destruction of the proletarian organizations showed themselves first in the country where, after the municipal offices were set afire, and their cooperative representative was killed, the peasants were exposed to the brutality of the landowners. These made short work of all agreements and assurances which they annulled, and after the section of the farm-worker's union was abolished, a Fascistic agricultural organization was established, into which the farm-workers were to be drafted by force. With this organization which was established for his purpose the landowner drew up agreements, which aimed at the reduction of the peasants wages and the annulment of all his rights.

The great mass of peasants was defeated still more easily. As a result of their working relations, the agricultural workers who were divided into many small sections over the whole

country, could not at all undertake a defensive action, especially with the leaders of the National Agricultural Union repeatedly crying: "Let everything go!"

After having succeeded in the country, the capitalist forces turned against the industrial workers, and discharges, lock-outs, wage-reductions, and the cancelling of agreements were the results of the defeat of the workers. Once more we see the failure of the social-democratic tactics which suppressed every organized opposition, and reduced the struggle to a thousand little episodes in the face of the general capitalist offensive. One category of workers after another, textile workers, weavers, chemical and metal workers, saw themselves left in the lurch, and were compelled to accept new and worse working-conditions.

Instead of consolidating the thousand and one individual struggles into one great action, the C. G. L. left the various unions to themselves, to carry out their acts according to their own local conditions and their particular habitual methods of fighting. Of course these could not gather that power which would have been made possible through the concerted action of the unions.

The weavers have been on strike for the last months, whereas the other textile workers were compelled to accept a considerable wage-reduction. And the striking weavers are in the meanwhile still waiting for the fulfilment of the promise for solidarity which was so readily given by the C. G. L., for the participation of other trades in the strike-movement. In the last few days the workers employed in the chemical industry have accepted a cut in wages, after their leaders had done everything within their power to prevent spontaneous action by the masses. The metal-workers have begun local negotiations, as was desired by the bosses, instead of renewing their wage-agreement upon a national basis, as was warranted by the strength of their organization. So it is that while the workers in Venezia Giulia and in Liguria have been out on strike for the last two weeks, a strike is announced in Piedmont and Lombardy.

And likewise in other districts it seems impossible to find a basis for negotiations. Nevertheless, the organizations persist in their splitting of policy which breaks up their forces into a hundred local actions, whereas the capitalist offensive progresses with solidarity and method all over the country.

The labor-union commission has made a proposal which seeks to settle the question of wage-reduction, but it is so absolutely absurd and deplorably plaintive that it will only serve to furnish new power to the capitalists and to weaken the workers still more.

The C. G. L. demanded that a commission should be created to deal with a general inquiry into industrial relations; said commission to consist of representatives of trade-unions, employers' associations and government representatives, to be presided over by a representative of the State and to constitute a higher neutral organ. The labor-union commission declared, that in case the employers could show a reduction in their profits, the workers would accept a proportional reduction in wages. Thus the following became the formula for the union's actions: "both the profits of the capitalists and the wages of the workers must be reduced at the same time".

It would be superfluous to show how absurd is this economic formula, which betrays an absolute ignorance of all laws which govern the whole process of production. This attitude of the unions which is so enthusiastically championed by the Socialist Party, is really due not so much to their ignorance of the fundamentals of economics, as to the simple fact that the Italian Social-Democrats have transferred their political tactics into the industrial field.

The inquiry into the industrial situation is nothing more than a method of preventing a direct conflict between the proletariat and the capitalists, a conflict which the Socialists avoid with fear. This inquiry is only one of the numerous episodes in the coalition practice of the Socialist Party, and a manifestation of the official entrance of the party into the circle of constitutional parties, which expect a solution of the social crisis only through the state. It is interesting to note that the proposal of the unions was taken up with enthusiasm by the Fascisti, who energetically defended it in their press, while their Central Committee officially directed its members to support it.

At the beginning of the above mentioned crisis, the Communist Party issued the following motto: "Concerted action by the proletariat, and the use of the general strike for the defense of its position", and its first declaration was argued in a detailed discussion at the Congress of the Trade-Union-Confederation, from a point of view which interested all workers. After 2 months of propaganda and agitation, the majority of organized workers has accepted the program of the Communist organization, and has thus forced the reformist leaders of the C. G. L. to call a national congress, which took place in Verona on the 6th of November. The discussions and decisions which took place there



will determine the development of the future actions of the Italian proletariat; and the results of the voting show the strength of the Communist Party among the masses.

The anniversary of the Russian Revolution thus coincides this year with exciting and serious days for the Italian proletariat and for its future, which is to be determined in the first weeks of November.

But all this will not make it forget the great event of the Communist Revolution. They also will apply the memory of the sacrifices of their Russian comrades, to their own sufferings at the present time.

While the Socialists are keeping quiet and are asleep, the Communist Party has organized a series of propaganda demonstrations for Russia, reaching into hundreds, in all industrial and agricultural centers. These are intended to link the Italian proletariat with the great event the memory of which they are celebrating. More than 500 meetings have taken place during the first week of November, and the C. P. I. has appointed 15 speakers who already have started their propaganda-tour.

In the meanwhile the Communist Central Committee is distributing thousands of manifestos for the aid of Russia, and illustrated cards and pamphlets; and the collections which were monopolized by the social-democrats received new momentum through the enthusiastic action of the Communists. At the national Trade-Union Congress, a Communist was present who in the course of the heated discussions announced the program for the 7th of November, in order to link the souls of the delegates with the distant fighters of Communist Russia, and in inspired words he described the spirit in which the Italian workers are to-day commemorating the first Worker's Republic. No longer rejoicing over the years past, no more foolhardiness, no pride, no belief that the goal is already near, no longer the positive challenge on the anniversary-day, but on this 7th of November 1921, there stands before the eyes of the Italian proletariat, as a light in the great darkness, the motto: "The Revolution is already in the world — to believe in it and to lay our hopes in it is our task."

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### The Activity of the International Secretariat of Communist women.

by A. Kollontay.

The task of the International Secretariat of Communist Women consists of awakening the working-woman from her age-long passivity, of giving her confidence in herself, of drawing her into the revolutionary movement and of obtaining her entrance into the Communist International.

The International Secretariat is at present composed of the following comrades: Klara Zetkin, Hertha Sturm (Germany), Lucie Colliard (France) and three Russian secretaries attached to the Executive of the Communist International, comrades Lilina, Kasparowa and Kollontay. The latter is a member of the Executive as well. One of the secretaries has charge of liaison with the Red Trade-Union International.

At the present time the International Secretariat is devoting itself to two campaigns: Firstly, relief for Russia, and as most important, aid for mothers and children; and secondly a protest against the aggressive policy of the bourgeois states against Soviet Russia. In August the International Secretariat through its Berlin representatives addressed an appeal to the working-women of the world for the famine-stricken in Russia — — — an appeal which found an immediate response in several countries. The Women's Section of the Swedish Communist Party has taken over, the maintenance of a children's home in the famished provinces. Collections and conferences have taken place in Germany.

Besides the measures demanded by the Executive for relief to the famine-stricken, the International Secretariat has drawn the attention of women in all countries to the necessity of rescuing the children victims of the famine.

The International Secretariat has decided against the sending of starving children from the famished regions to foreign countries for political and economic as well as purely practical reasons. It invites on the other hand, the Women Communist Sections of various countries to assume the care and maintenance of all the children of a province, of a region or of a children's asylum, according to their resources. When the French or English working — women know that the lives and well-being of all the children in a given locality depend upon their activity, it is not to be doubted that the intensity of their work will be increased ten-fold.

Such acts will have an undeniably beneficial influence upon international solidarity. But in order that they assume tangible shape the foreign sections must send their representatives into Russia and the International Secretariat must establish a permanent connection between those supported and foreign countries. The second measure under consideration in the struggle against the famine is the international relief of children by children. The initiative of proletarian children ought to be able to show itself in such acts of solidarity which will strengthen the bonds of international brotherhood in the coming generation. In this respect the simplest gestures of assistance, such as gifts of school notebooks, pencils and slates for the suffering children, are of material as well as moral aid.

The International Secretariat is also occupied with the organization of Communist Saturdays for the benefit of the famishing. They can be devoted to the salvaging of old clothes in the making of children's clothing, etc. The Secretariat is also devoting its attention to the question of unemployment of women. Its organ is the "Working-Women's International", published in German at Berlin, started last April. The International Secretariat has sent an organizer into the Far East, and is making preparations for the first conference of the women of the Near East.

In general, we may derive the greatest satisfaction from the progress made by the International Secretariat of Communist Women. It may be said that it has, in one year of activity, succeeded in establishing itself on a solid foundation in the feminine proletariat and that it is to-day able to effectively collaborate in the work of the Communist International.

## IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY

### The Paris Socialist Congress.

by Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

The French Socialist Party held its annual congress at Paris from the 30th October to the 2nd November. In an article in the "Populaire" for the 3rd of November, Blum sums up the results of the congress and congratulates himself upon the enthusiasm and tone by which it was marked. In the opening paragraph, he strikes the keynote of the congress, which included tendencies as violently opposed as Boncour and Longuet, in the statement that nobody took away with him the bitterness of a defeat, or the conscience-troubling pride of an advantage gained over comrades. Nothing precise, nothing constructive was done by the congress. The outward unity which we unmasked at Tours has been reestablished in the new party. The debates brought forth resolutions of conciliation — such as we have for a long time called "white negroes" — which are only affirmations of impotence.

Two important questions were on the order of the day. One, destined for foreign consumption on which they depended for lively discussion and for the maintenance of the party's esprit du corps was the eternal myth of the reconstruction of the International. The other, the question of electoral tactics, was much closer to the heart of the majority of the delegates, although it was not of such an elevated nature. That was the burning question in the French Socialist Party.

At the close of the Radicals' congress, held in Lyon under the presidency of M. Herriot, certain advances had been made to the socialists in connection with the founding of the "League of the Republic" by the bourgeois patriotic reform parties. These advances suggested the collaboration of the Socialists in the policy of a coalition of the Bloc of the Left and many of them let themselves be won over to the idea. The bourgeois press did not fail to point out the small difference between the majority of 1400 votes which had rejected the coalition in the Federation of the Seine and the minority of 700 votes in its favor and 500 not voting who accepted it more or less.

It will be recalled that in the recent vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, the abstention of the Socialists enabled the Briand-Barihon-Bonnevay cabinet to almost double its majority in a critical situation. And did not the socialist deputy of the North, Ingels, congratulate M. Daniel Vincent, Minister of Labor, on the very eve of the congress, for having "done his duty" during the textile worker's strike?

The spirit of the abandonment of the principles of the class struggle, always gaining ground in the Party, was also manifest at the congress, even if it did not yet dare to express itself in resolutions. Mauranges, speaking for the Boncour-Barthe group, proclaimed his faith in the Radical party and concluded with the words: "I take into account present conditions, not to work for the Revolution in which I do not believe, but for social progress in the republic and in democracy".

Furthermore, the left wing was twice violently attacked, in part in the person of Longuet whom certain delegates wanted to hold responsible for the decay of "Populaire" and for certain omissions in the reports. But the slogan was: Peace, and order was quickly restored. Although the majority of the congress knew perfectly well in what direction it was going, it rejected the alliance with the Radicals for the present.

"Let us remain alone", said Paul Faure, adding, "Besides events are stronger than we are. We do not know what may be imposed on a great party."

"The Bloc of the Left", stated Léon Blum, "would be more disadvantageous for the bourgeois parties united therein than for the Socialist Party..." and he refused to support it, waiting for the vote on electoral reform.

To tell the truth, and it was easily seen in the atmosphere of the congress, the fruit was not yet ripe. They had to let the Radicals make new proposals, the last carrying with them the danger of being considered as too bitter by certain socialists who still believed in the revolutionary phrases of the Congress. That was the idea which Renaudel expressed when he said, "It is not for us to make the first step". The elections will take place two years from now and there is no reason why they should bind themselves, but the door remains open, wide-open.

The congress took a vote and proudly announced that it had a definite electoral tactic. This consists of not having any at all. It announced that it had a program and it repeated—twelve years later!—the reformist program of 1908.

In the international field, great speeches were made in which most of the enemies and mistakes of the revolution were lauded. It was a little family affaire, very well managed.

Van Koll, Ledebour, Débroukère, Tseretelli, Huggler, Tom Shaw, Santiago, Vinter, Engberg and Serrati had been invited as guests. Once more there was a lot of talk concerning the reconstruction of the International. Renaudel was willing to forego the exclusion of the Communists. Ledebour eulogized the Wirth government, attempted a partial apology for the Goerlitz Congress of the Social-democrats and proposed the sending of letters to the Second and the Third Internationals.

Bracke concluded by saying, without irony, that nothing was more dangerous than "the supposition that international unity would arise from the cleverness of the leaders rather than from the desire of the proletarians themselves". Nevertheless, the proposal for an international conference was adopted and the Vienna bureau was once more instructed to issue invitations to both sides. It is needless to describe how the reconstructors reviled and threw mud at the "communist adventurers" and at the Third International before inviting them.

These were the essential characteristics of the Congress of the Socialist Party. It was a congress of bluff, of parade; a congress to create an impression, where nothing was decided on. All the questions which came before it remain hanging in the air. It continued to cherish the dream of uniting in one International the assassins of Karl Liebknecht and his disciples, the Ministers of kings and the Commissars of the proletariat.

The real reconstruction of the International is in the growing consciousness of the proletariat which is more and more freeing itself from the bonds of the petty-bourgeois socialists and is attaching itself to the Third International. The orientation of the French Socialists is plainly right (in spite of the presence of some "poor relatives" in their ranks). They are laborously recruiting their members from the right and it is under the influence of this recruiting that they are establishing their reformist program in accord with the C.G.T. (Confédération Générale du Travail). Their organ, the "Populaire" has a monthly deficit of 35,000 francs and lives on the funds of the Belgian party. Its daily circulation in Paris is 2,100 as compared with 80,000 of "Humanité".

In short, the influence of the Socialist Party in France is almost nil. It is in many cases limited to the personal influence of its most noted deputies. Its orientation to the right, its hatred of the Russian Revolution and its insane vote-catching is destroying its prestige with the proletarian masses.

Its daily declarations, its entire attitude, and last but not least its Congress, make it merely a pawn ready at the command of its leaders to be thrown in the election balance in favor of the bourgeois parties.

## APPEALS

### Save Spain's Revolutionaries.

Everywhere "Dato-murderers" are being arrested. Already 70 comrades are sitting behind prison walls of Spain under the charge of having murdered Datos. There are no proofs or evidence but the bloodthirsty murder-camarilla of Spain is trying by these means to bring all Communists and Syndicalists that they can lay their hands on to the gallows.

Enticed by the millions, which the Spanish government has offered as reward, the Berlin police have started a regular hunt after Spanish revolutionaries. Anyone, who has the reputation of being a communist or syndicalist, is branded as a "Dato-murderer" and delivered over to Spanish justice.

Comrade Fort and his wife Joaquina still await, as alleged "Dato-murderers", the decision over their threatened extradition and again they have suspected the syndicalist Nin and the communist Arlandis and have arrested them in Berlin, as a "Dato-murderer", although they have not been in Spain at all during recent months.

And so the persecution goes on and is extending to other towns. Ever more urgent therefore is it to raise the cry; Workers of all lands; prevent the extradition of Spanish revolutionaries!

What can be done? What are the facts?

All the Spaniards, arrested abroad, are not to be regarded as having had any connection with the murder of the murderer Dato. It is an established fact that one of those, who carried out the sentence of death on the murderer Dato, has already unfortunately fallen a victim to the Spanish justice; a second one, however, the Anarchist Coranellas, is in safety in Moscow and enjoys Russian right of asylum.

All the other persecuted ones are wanted by the Spanish authorities, as conspirators or accomplices, simply because they are leaders or supporters of the workers movement in Spain, whom they are trying by execution and murder to exterminate at all cost. And so they are hunted from land to land as hated political enemies.

The act of political necessity, which was carried out on the murderer Dato, is no murder but an act of despair of the oppressed workers. There was no other way out, since their power was not sufficient for a revolution. But some means of lightening the oppression of the cruel Dato administration on the workers of Catalonia had to be found, in order to arouse in Spain and in the rest of the world opposition to this regime. Even bourgeois circles, who stood far from the act, felt that it lightened the political situation.

No treaties between states can justify the ex-tradition of persons, falsely accused. Mass demonstrations and the pressure of labour organisations must prevent the capitalist governments from delivering up the Spanish comrades to their political opponents. The proletariat must win for its champions an international right of asylum.